

*After Br & I - Army*

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# REFLECTIONS

PREVIOUS TO THE

## Establishment of a MILITIA.

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## REFLECTIONS

PREVIOUS TO THE

### Establishment of a MILITIA.

**R**EMARKABLE Changes in Policy commonly arise from some urgent Occasion ; and the Projects of speculative Men meet with little Attention, when not supported by a prevailing Sense of Necessity or Expediency. One Step indeed may lead to another ; but political Bodies seem unable to move, in any Instant, beyond the Suggestion of their present Feelings. National Institutions therefore seldom come early enough to prevent Inconveniences, they generally follow, and are intended to remove some real Complaint.

When we consider the Succession of Events in *Britain*, it must be owned

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that few Nations have been so happy in the Changes they have undergone, or in the new Institutions they have occasionally adopted. Even Dissention, Faction, and Civil War have ended in some Accommodation to the Advantage of Liberty and just Government. Such a Reflection may reconcile us, in some Degree, to the bitter Experience which hath taught our Ancestors Wisdom, and diminish our Regret amidst Losses and Alarms, which give a Prospect of any wise Establishment yet wanting in our Country.

In former Wars this Nation felt, only, their Strength, their Fleets were triumphant on every Sea, and carried the Terror of their Name to the most distant Parts of the Globe. Their Wealth found Allies, and put numerous Armies in Motion on the Continent, where their Enemy found sufficient Occupation for his Powers. In the present War, when engaged singly with a powerful Enemy, they have felt their Weakness too. Their Weapons, it seems, are formed to wound at a Distance, in close Fight their Bosom

is bare and defenceless. No sooner did the Enemy threaten to invade this Island, but we appeared unequal to the Defence of any distant Possessions. Our numerous Fleets were occupied in guarding the Coast at home, and a Declaration of War, in which we threatened to force our Enemy to a Reparation of Injuries, seems to have brought upon us, only, a new Expence in defending ourselves. Such Appearances call for some wise and deep laid Establishment, which may form a domestic Strength, and provide for the Security of this Nation. Our Example hath taught the *French* to take Commerce in Aid of their military Power. They have felt the Advantage of trading Colonies, and the Necessity of a powerful Marine. Their Example, their Menaces, and the present Occasion, should teach us in our turn to mix the military Spirit with our civil and commercial Policy. The Nation is now come to a general Sense of this Truth, and almost every Address to the Throne hath contained express Representations to this Purpose. It is far from my Intention to inflame any

present Animosity. On the contrary, I think it Matter of Regret, that the Murmurs of a discontented Nation should afflict the Ears of an aged Prince, on the Verge of a Reign, so happy in its domestic Influence, tho' not remarkable for such Events as amuse Posterity.

It is indeed happy for us in many Respects, that the Public is free enough to censure, or to commend an Administration ; but it is the Manner of Men to judge abruptly from Events, and call for Redress, in their Troubles, with such Impatience, that the ablest Minister may appear tardy in giving the public Affairs a new and a more satisfying Aspect. A Minister, it is thought, on whom this Burden may fall, will find the Establishment of a Militia one Power by which his Labour may be diminished. But to arm a People, and to renew the Habits of military Men, will require great Wisdom in the Institution, and some Length of Time to attain its Maturity. It is hoped, however, that from such Beginnings, as the Times will suggest, this Nation may proceed, and, by future

ture Corrections, appear equally happy in this as in other Branches of their domestic Policy.

Every body will call to mind, on this Occasion, that our Ancestors were unacquainted with standing Armies ; that the People were once, not only sufficient for their own Defence, but often carried War with Success into their Enemy's Country. Their Bravery and military Spirit will be magnified, to serve as an Example to the present Times, and to silence such as pretend to treat a popular Militia with Contempt. The Examples of many an Age in *Europe*, the more recent Instances of a Militia opposed with Success even to regular Armies, will prove that what is proposed, and appears to be so earnestly desired by this Nation, is not impracticable. Such Examples are not, however, in all Points applicable to our present Case. Our Ancestors were a People, in many Respects, different from what we now are. The very Miseries and Inconveniencies they laboured under, bred them to the Use of Arms and a warlike Disposition. Laws  
were

were imperfect, and ill executed ; every Individual was forced to the Use of Arms for his own Security. What are now become Suits at Law, were then Quarrels decided by the Edge of the Sword. Every Family in the Country had its Rival, and the Dependents of each were nursed up in mutual Jealousy and Animosity ; they were fond of the Sword, because it was their best Security ; and Bravery was always esteemed in the first Rank of Virtue, because they were so often exposed to the Need of it. Thus used to Arms from their early Years, and marked out for Honour or Contempt as they excelled in the Use of them, the People consisted of Soldiers and Men of Valour, who, from Necessity, Habit, and Desire of Praise, were continually armed, and embraced Fatigue and Danger with Avidity. Arts and Commerce were little practised ; War furnished the only Profession thought worthy a Freeman. If to these Circumstances we add the Nature of their Government, so much a-kin to military Subordination, we shall see the Grounds of that martial Spirit which

which prevailed in the early Ages of our Country, and be able to account for the Readiness, with which the Militia in former times appeared in the Field. The Court was an Assembly of Barons, who held of the King by a military Tenure. Each Baron was followed by Vassals, who held of him upon a like Condition ; and the Subordination was continued downwards, by equal Steps, to the Masses of the People. In time of Peace they resembled a great Army in Cantonments, where each Band acknowledged its Leader ; and every Alarm brought them to the Field with a Love of Glory, and a Familiarity with Arms, more formidable than the exactest Discipline. The further we look back into History, the more we shall find this national Character sunk in Barbarity ; but, as we advance, mere Ferocity, and the Desire of Rapine, by Degrees give way to milder Principles. The same Distinction being still connected with the Profession of Arms, the same Vigour remained, arising from a Sense of national and personal Honour.

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The Manners of a Nation shift by Degrees, and the State of civil Policy, and of Commerce, at which we are arrived, have greatly affected our Manners in this Particular. By the first, Individuals are fully secured under the Protection of the Laws. Wrongs are less frequent, and private Revenge is prohibited ; Family Animosities are no longer attended with Hostilities, and the Use of Arms, arising from the Necessity of Self-defence, hath ceased. Our Situation, as an Island, hath lessened our Fears even of a foreign Enemy, and we want that Vigilance which is found in other Nations, who, being more exposed, are reduced to study the Attack and Defence of a Frontier, as an Object of the first Importance. Other Nations in *Europe* are become equally mild; but our Situation is peculiar, and it may be doubted whether we must not, for ever, come short of our Neighbours in the several Particulars, which compose the Art of War, because we have not the same Occasion to study and practice them. Our Commerce hath no less affected our Manners. It has increased our Wealth,

Wealth, and Wealth has become in a great measure the Mark of Distinction and Honour. Our Hands are employed in Arts and Manufactures, and Traders are upon the same Level, and mixed with our Gentry. That Contempt of lucrative Arts, which prevailed in former Times, has disappeared, and we are now guided in the Choice of a Profession, by the Consideration of its Profits and Emoluments. Even our Gentry have learned to estimate Professions in the same Manner, and we may well be ashamed to own, how few are found in our Army, to whom the Pay is no Temptation. The Profession of Arms, so becoming the Birth and Station of a Gentleman, is not courted, because its Profits are trivial. This Reflection is to the Honour of a few who must be excepted, because, to resist the Stream, or rise above the common Level, is a Proof of uncommon Vigour; and when in the Beginning of a War we find Gentlemen of independent Fortune crowd into the Army, we may congratulate the Nation on this Proof of her remaining Strength. In

other Countries, People of Quality have no other Profession which they can follow with Dignity. In our's, the Contempt of it often assumes the Air of Wisdom ; and a Person who could never raise his Mind beyond the Ideas of Interest and Profit, still pretends to look down for an Inferior. The Air and Dress of an Officer may dazzle at first ; but when it recurs that he has but little Money in his Pocket, the Name is turned to Derision and Contempt. It is the Condition of grovelling Minds, that they cannot form a Conception beyond their own Level, nor see that others move in a Sphere above them, who, negligent of Interest and Profit, are animated with the Love of Honour and commendable Action, and are rouzed when the Safety of their Country calls to Fatigue and Danger. It is to be hoped, that many of our young People discover a Fondness for the Army from such Principles. And when, in Preference to what is more lucrative, they embrace a Profession which appears bustling and active, connected with Honour and Glory, it

were to be wished that our general Maxims were more favourable to feed and encourage this Spirit.

But when I impute the Decline of our martial Disposition to those very Circumstances which we must value the most, I shall perhaps be understood to speak unfavourably for the Institution which I have professed to recommend. The happy Form of our Government ; the sacred Authority with which our Laws execute themselves ; the Perfection to which Arts are arrived ; the Extent of our Commerce, and Increase of our People ; the Degrees of Taste and Literature which we possess ; the Probity and Humanity which prevail in our Manners ; are Circumstances which a Nation may be allowed to boast of. Such is the height to which every improving Nation aspires, and at which but a few have arrived. We are however to blame for having suffered these calm and halcyon Days to lull us so entirely asleep. It may be allowed that the Perfection now attained in every Art, and the Attention required to furnish what is demanded in eve-

ry Branch of Business, have led away from the military Profession great Numbers of our People ; and that Applications are become frequent, which seem to disqualify Men in a great Degree for the Use of Arms. But Self-defence is the Business of all : and we have already gone too far, in the Opinion that Trade and Manufacture are the only Requisites in our Country. In Pursuit of such an Idea, we labour to acquire Wealth ; but neglect the Means of defending it. We would turn this Nation into a Company of Manufacturers, where each is confined to a particular Branch, and sunk into the Habits and Peculiarities of his Trade. In this we consult the Success of Manufacture ; but slight the Honours of the human Nature : we furnish good Work ; but educate Men, gross, Fordid, void of Sentiment and Manners, who may be pillaged, insulted, and trod upon by the Enemies of their Country. We are yet many Degrees removed from this Extremity. The Body of a great People still remains, along with whose Occupations the occasional Use of Arms is natural : we may even hope

hope to stir the Lethargy of less favourable Occupations, and gain in Dignity and Strength the little we may lose on the Side of Industry. Our People are remarkable for Public Spirit; it operates in our domestic Policy: but is not equally prepared against a foreign Enemy. Too scrupulous a Caution with respect to the Disturbances which might arise from Faction, and even our Attention to preserve the Game, have, with other Considerations, made our Government industrious to check and prohibit the use of Arms: and I do not know by what Fatality the Spirit of military Men has even declined among our Nobility. I will not spare any Censure where Persons of this honourable Class have formed themselves upon Maxims unworthy of their Station. Can Men born to Titles of Nobility, derived from honourable Ancestors, born to Affluence and a liberal Education, give up their Minds to the Views of Profit and Interest alone? The Ideas of their Station are those of Distinction and Honour, their very Vices should spring from that Source,

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and the leading Virtue in their Breast should be a Contempt of Interest and of Life, when their own or their Country's Honour is at Stake. This Censure I hope will not fall upon many; we have indeed suffered Repose to steal upon our Minds, but the Spirit is not extinct. Perhaps the Business of an Officer in Time of Peace, appears to have no Temptation on the side of Glory. Perhaps our Nobility are averse to the Subordination and Attendance it requires; they fear the Vexations which every Constable may devise for them in Country Quarters; they despise the incessant Duty of the Parade, or that of being employed as Recruiting Officers to ensnare the Refuse of their Country into the Service. It will be happy for us if any Excuse is found consistent with their Honour. If that Principle remains we are safe, and the Public may find Means of renewing its Activity.

I have been so particular in representing the State of our Manners, a State which every civilized, and above all every commercial People has a natural Tendency to; that we might not rush upon this Subject without

without knowing its Difficulties. We have not now to do with the fierce and rapacious Spirit of our early Ancestors; nor with the sworn Fidelity of Vassals; nor with the Idleness, Elevation of Mind, and Aversion to Labour, which threw every Freeman of old into the Profession of Arms. The Hearts of our People are not Steel, they are softened by a Disuse of Arms, by Security, and pacific Employments. We must not therefore think that the Name of a Militia, and a few Arms sent to the Country, will at once find Soldiers ready to receive them. The Springs must be cleared at the Bottom, otherwise what we do on the Surface will not enlarge or quicken the Stream. A few stated Hours of Exercise, without any other Use of Arms, might have exposed the Attempt to Ridicule, betrayed an Aversion to the Busines, and for ever dis-honoured the Name of a Militia.

The Feeling of a Man unaccustomed to use a Weapon, is a Fear that it may hurt himself; that of a Man familiar with the Use of it, is a Confidence that it will hurt his Enemy; and each is so much possessed with

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with the Idea which strikes him, that he often forgets every other one. I will therefore be so bold, in the first Step on this Subject, as to propose that every Restraint should be taken away by which the People are hindered from having or amusing themselves with Arms. The Poachers of *Great Britain*, so much the Aversion of our Squires, if assembled in a Body might do excellent Service against an Enemy. Men are fond of trying a Skill, which they are conscious of, and if we abandon our Hares and Partridges to the People, we shall find them better qualified hereafter to defend our other Possessions. To mention such a Sacrifice hath an Air of Ridicule; but Amusements which are habitual, and serve to fill up the Leisure of an idle Life, become Matters of Consequence. We will therefore chearfully own the Merit of Persons who abridge their Pleasure in such Articles; but must insist that Gentlemen, who hold serious Meetings for the Preservation of the Game, would have some Regard to the Preservation of their Country. We would gladly hope that a

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late Advertisement hath only called them together, to put an End to this Concert; and they may perhaps favour us with an account of the Poachers, whom they have not been able to exterminate, that we may compute the present Strength of our Country. To the Profession of Poaching, we may join the frequent Practice of Shooting at a Mark, where the Prize as a Badge of Honour, and the Emulation might animate our People; and surely to promote such Trials of Skill, would be more worthy of our Gentlemen, than the Matches and Betts, for which they are become the Objects of Ridicule to all *Europe*:

Here I will venture to differ from a very common Opinion, and affirm that the Practice of such Motions as form the Military Exercise, is far from being sufficient to train a Soldier. He learns indeed to handle his Arms with Ease and Quickness; but is not inspired with a love of Arms: on the contrary, they become his Aversion, from the Drudgery and tiresome Hours which they occasion. He acquires no Confidence in the Use of

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them, because no Part of his Exercise tends to shew their Effect. He learns to fire with the Multitude without seeing an Enemy, and can scarcely ever be brought to reserve his Fire till he can apply it to most Advantage. The Skill and Confidence derived from the Use of Arms in Sport or Trials of Dexterity are very different, and if united with some Degree of the former, our Militia would soon become a Strength to the Country. The best Lesson of the Parade is a Habit of Submission to absolute Command: there every Battalion learns to unite and obey; it becomes like the Bundle of Rods, strong when in Order and united, even tho' Individuals have no great personal Confidence, or Fondness for the Busines. This is the Effect of military Order and Obedience: but it may be doubted whether a Militiacan ever sufficiently attain to it, and certainly should not trust to inferior Degrees of Order and Discipline alone. We must therefore study to inspire them with that Familiarity and Liking to Arms, which will give every single Man a Confidence.

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Men so prepared, in a Crowd, and with little Order, are qualified to produce a like and more fatal Confusion in the Battalions of an Enemy.

Along with this general Permission, the Law should perhaps enjoin that every Family possessing a certain Number of Acres, should be furnished with all the Particulars now required to arm one Man. The general Permission, it is hoped, would revive and diffuse the Love of Arms among our People; and the last Article mentioned would secure a Force in the Hands of that Part of the Nation, which is the least corrupted, and the most to be trusted with its internal Peace. I cannot think it necessary to point at any Regulation, by which the military Spirit might be promoted among our Gentry. When the Way is opened to them, the very Bias of their Situation will lead them into it. They are possessed of hereditary Distinction; whatever therefore comes attended with farther Distinction and Honour must engage their Minds. And we may hope to see their Education better directed, and more effectual in furnishing

their Minds with such Knowledge, and forming their Persons by such Exercises, as give the Accomplishments, the Manners, and Air of Gentlemen. If we succeed in rendering the People familiar with Arms, we may go on to settle the Form of a Militia with Confidence; the Order of our Policy will lead us in adjusting the Particulars of Command and Subordination, and the Time which other Occupations may allow, for Exercise, and Parade, will be sufficient.

To create a military Force, two things are chiefly required. That the Body of the People out of which our Regiments are to be formed by Rotation, should be acquainted with Arms, and value themselves upon the Use of them. That the proper Degree of Authority and Subordination should be established, and the Habit of military Obedience provided for.

In these two ways we strive to produce Courage and Discipline. For the first, I have already proposed a general Use of Arms among the People. It is an obvious and a promising Measure, and there is abundance

abundance of Reason to recommend it ; but Objections may crowd upon us, which seem to ballance those Reasons, and dissuade the Measure. I shall therefore consider such of them, as appear the most important.

It may occur, that we are a divided People ; that Factions still subsist, which build their peculiar Tenets upon Views destructive of the Government, and our Liberties ; that therefore we cannot admit a promiscuous Use of Arms, without some Danger from this Quarter.

It has ever been the Practice of Parties in Power to disarm and depress their Adversaries. This indeed appears to be the high Road of Self-preservation and Security ; but we may still admit a Question : whether another Path might not be found, leading more directly to national Prosperity and Happiness. It will, I presume, be owned, that invidious Distinctions among a People serve to foment and embitter their Divisions : that Animosities, which might otherwise subside, are thereby perpetuated ; and Differences, which might gradually be

be forgotten, are marked with such external Distinctions as for ever revive them in the Mind. The Difference of Opinion, and Party Views form one Ground of Animosity; unequal Treatment and inferior Privilege furnish another still more exasperating. If a Faction should threaten immediate Disturbance, Vigilance and Severity no doubt must be opposed to it: but Men of Ability can easily discern such an Occasion, and will know, how to proportion the Marks of Distrust and Severity, and how to assume an Air of Serenity and Confidence as the Danger removes. Under such Treatment the Asperity of Faction is mitigated, and the Animosities of Men are suffered to shift with their Manners and the Revolutions of Ages. We would render those we trust more warlike, and the Objects of our Suspicion less dangerous: but it may be doubted, whether a Distinction made in permitting the Use of Arms would have this Effect. To be refused the Use of Arms, in the Face of a Country possess'd of this Advantage, would give the Spirit a new Edge; would create a Desire,

a Desire, and stir up a Rancour in the Heart, more hostile and dangerous than any Habit acquired by a free and common Use of Arms shared with the Multitude. Men of Reflection will give this Reasoning its proper Weight. Great Minds have been remarkable for Confidence, and have been remarkable too for Success, perhaps in some measure owing to the Attachment and Fidelity they every where found in return to their generous and engaging Proceedings. We may add, that a Distinction, which might become the Subject of Dispute, in the Case of every Person, who pretended to have Arms, would discover a new Scene for the Practice of Envy and Malice ; and give an Opportunity for servile and undeserving Men to assume an Air of Importance at the Expence of Merit. A little Acquaintance with the History of *Great Britain* may furnish Examples to this Purpose, and lead to Instances, wherein Government hath promoted Disaffection, by imputing it where it was not clearly due, and inflamed it by insulting Men with Marks of Distrust, whilst the proper

proper Caution, against a Danger so increased, was neglected.

It must be owned, however, in the present Question, that the Numbers and Force of the Disaffected are to be considered. If we are in the Proportion of a Garrison to a conquered City, it is prudent to disarm and watch the Inhabitants that they may not overpower us: but if our Proportion is that of a whole Army to a few in its Ranks, who are inclined to favour the Enemy, or to desert, we cannot fear a Danger from the Arms of a few, whom we can force to act, even, against the Enemy they favour. I will not pretend to assign the Proportion, in which the Disaffected are found in any Part of this Island: but we may affirm with Confidence that the Proportion is in many Degrees below an Equality. Indeed whilst the Body of our People is disarmed, and pacific to a Degree which tempts an Invasion, we have Reason to apprehend Danger even from a few, whom the Spirit of Faction continues to stimulate. A few Banditti from the Mountains, trained by their Situation to a

warlike

warlike Disposition, might over-run the Country, and, in a critical Time, give Law to this Nation; but if our People were armed, and prepared to defend themselves, the Insults we have suffered, and the future Threatenings of an Enemy, would be equal Matter of Ridicule. The Spirit which seems to animate this Nation, is a Love of Liberty and Independence, along with a Confidence in Parliament; the Cry of a Faction therefore, which contradicts our favourite Tenets, will only rouze us in the Defence of them. When the Lovers of Freedom and their Country have an equal Use of Arms, the Cause of a Pretender to the Dominion and Property of this Island, is from that Moment desperate.

Along with Scruples of this Kind, another Danger may present itself. It may be apprehended, perhaps, that a general Use of Arms among the People will encourage popular Leaders, and even furnish them with a military Force, by which they may aspire to subdue their Country. On this Head it may be observed, that whilst

the Ideas of a Constitution remain, and animate the People to any Degree of national and public Spirit, we cannot fear that mere personal Attachments will lead them to sacrifice these Views to the Ambition of particular Men : yet, it will be said, that a Time of Corruption, may come, when the Ideas of a Constitution, of Liberty, and of Independence, will cease to operate in the Minds of our People : that in such a Conjunction personal Attachments will divide them ; a *Cæsar* will raise himself to the Head of one Party, and a *Pompey* to that of another. When the Zeal for a Country is lost in all, each will study to advance his Leader, that he may follow him to the Summit, and partake of the Power and the Spoil. Such as look forward to an Age of this Completion, may lay aside all Sollicitude about the Event of Commotions, which may then arise. They have figured to themselves a desperate Case, when Liberty and the Government of Laws must come to a Period. When the People become necessary to the Ambition of particular Men, it may indeed

deed be doubtful which of the contending Parties will prevail ; but the Public is sure to find an absolute Master in either. In such a Conjunction *Rome* found a Master, whose Reign appeared to be tolerable. The Conspirators, therefore, did wrong in killing him, because such a Master was then the greatest Blessing the Public had to hope for. *Julius* was killed only to make way for *Ostavius*, and the Empire at Intervals found a *Trajan* and an *Antoninus*, but never more the Government of Laws secured by the Forms of a free State. *Brutus* and *Cassius* lived an Age too late, and fell a Sacrifice to Maxims which were no longer the Springs of public Action. The Danger here pointed at is distant ; that of foreign Conquest is more nearly impending ; we cannot therefore doubt that a military Force is necessary to defend our Country ; and they who insist upon this Objection as laid against a popular Militia alone, are concerned to shew that the Increase of a Standing Army is, in the Event, less dangerous to Liberty. Even the Example we have quoted will

stand in the Way of such a Position. *Cæsar* and even *Pompey* found their Strength in those Legions which they had too long commanded in different Provinces, Troops formed to all the Vices and Disadvantages of a Standing Army: the Event therefore is rather a Proof of Danger from that Quarter.

It will be feared, perhaps, likewise, that a Familiarity with Arms may render private Quarrels and popular Riots more bloody. Should we admit this Consequence, it will not follow, that a few domestic Inconveniences should deter us from the necessary Steps, in our own Defence, against a foreign Enemy. Proper Laws, and an active Police, may in a great measure prevent such Inconveniences; nor, indeed, can we apprehend any remarkable Increase of such Disorders. Some military Spirit, we hope, may arise to the Advantage of our Country, but cannot fear that, in the present State of our Manners, this will degenerate into a savage Ferocity. In proportion as the Consequences of Riots and Quarrels become

become serious, the Practice will become less frequent ; for when an Evil becomes extreme, Men avoid it with proportionable Care ; and, with a civilized People, the View of certain Consequences promotes Discretion, Sobriety, and Circumspection. From the same Consideration we need not fear, that the Quarrels of Gentlemen will become, in any great Degree more frequent, or more fatal. Whilst we lament the Consequence of such Quarrels, and condemn a Practice to be severely restrained, it will be fair to admit, that some other Vices are corrected by it : Petulance, Impertinence, and Brutality give way to the Evil we are speaking of. These indeed are not the Characteristics of our Nation, and we shall not bleed much when such Excrescences are lopt off.

I have been particular in representing the State of our Manners, and in recommending what I think is wanting in such a State to render a Militia useful. I consider a People thus recalled to the Use of Arms, as a Mass, out of which we may form in every County a certain Number

of Regiments, proportioned to its Extent. I consider every Man as deriving military Spirit more from the Use of Arms, and the Emulation revived in the Country, than from the stated Practice of any Motions, which we dignify with the Name of Military Discipline. If we have a People familiar with Arms, no Difficulty can remain about the Form of a Regiment, or in assigning the Time and Place of their Exercise. The great Point to be studied is, how we may give Command its proper Authority, and come, as near as the Freedom of a People will permit, to the regular Subordination of an Army, when it is required that any Part of this Body should act in that Capac<sup>t</sup>. The entire Force of military Law ca<sup>n</sup> not be applied here, because we do not propose to give up our Liberties; we propose to gain a Situation where we may better defend them. The Nomination of Officers, and supreme Command of the Militia, must no doubt belong to the King. He is more safely entrusted with this, than with the Command of a Standing Army. The Law, how-

however, may provide, that the Nomination of Officers, in the different Ranks, should follow, as nearly as possible, that Subordination in point of Dignity and Wealth already subsisting in this Nation. By this Means we take the Benefit of an Authority already established, and we give it some new Addition, which will bring it still nearer to military Subordination. This Addition will arise from the Influence of such Rewards and Punishments as may be prescribed in a military Law.

But before I enter on the Consideration of such Rewards and Punishments, I will mention some further Particulars, which I consider as a necessary Foundation to the Superstructure we propose to raise. The Reader has already been led to consider the Necessity of permitting a general Use of Arms ; that our People may be familiar with those Weapons, they are to use in the Defence of their Country. It must be owned, however, that to excite in our People the Spirit which we desire, something more than a bare Permission is necessary. And altho' it were granted, that

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the Freedom of shooting the Game, and the Practice of contending for a Prize, might, to a certain Degree, promote the Use of Arms ; yet, a Question still remains, from what Motives we shall induce this People to take their Turn in the Militia, and submit to the Constraint and Attendance which the Time of their Service will require. The Law no doubt hath a coercive Power, and may enact such Penalties as promise to have this Effect. Shall we therefore trust the Appearance of our People, in the Militia, to the Force of Compulsion alone ? We live in a Time, perhaps, when Compulsion is not necessary, and in a Time of general Forwardness to receive, Arms which are prepared for the Defence of our Country. This Alacrity, however, is occasional ; it supposes an Alarm, and Times of no apparent Danger may be attended with other Inclinations. In such Times, therefore, we shall be obliged to compel the People to take their Turn in this Service, and in every Instance have to do with a Person who desires to avoid and shift his Appearance.

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Such a View of our Case will furnish no great Hopes of military Strength to the Nation. We know, indeed, that in despotic Governments, and in the hired Forces of freer States, the Method of Compulsion alone is sufficient ; and that, without any remarkable Courage from Nature, or Inclination to the Service, Men are kept to their Duty, and forced to act in the Face of an Enemy. But when we consider the Severities, by which this End is accomplished, we can no longer think of applying the same Means in the present Case : a Severity, which, without the Mixture of any other Power, can drive Men in the Face of Danger, and certain Death, is inconsistent with every Degree of civil Liberty. Those Chains must be heavy indeed, which bind Men to such a Task, and Punishments very prompt and terrifying, which make them forget the Love of Safety, and of Life. If we mean to perpetuate a military Force, upon the Principle of Compulsion, perhaps, no inferior Degrees will be sufficient ; and, if this were the only Principle, we could take

hold of, it were sufficient to make us abandon the Project. So much is said to prevent our trusting to an Engine, which we can employ but faintly ; and which if not plied, in all its Powers, will be found unequal to the Work. We are encouraged, however, to go on, by the Examples of other Nations, who, consisting of Men inured to Arms, found Individuals not averse to take their Turn of military Service, and forward in the Face of Danger, from other Motives than the Fear of Punishment. Such Nations commanded the Respect of their Neighbours, and were ever formidable, at least, in their own Defence. The Reader will please to recollect, what Circumstance in the Character of their Policy and Manners, we are to consider as the Ground of this internal Strength. Upon recollecting what we know of the History of all Nations, it will appear, that none ever possess a permanent military Force lodged in the Nerves and Sinews of a People, where they, who carried the Arms of the Public, were not the most respectable Part of  
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the Nation. The Courage, the liberal Spirit, the Generosity, and Self-denial of that Profession, deserve to be so classed, and will not have a Being upon other Terms. Men of high Mettle, who are formed for the Profession of Arms, are likewise fond of Honour; and if we separate the one from the other, that Profession is instantly thrown among the Dregs of the People. A Nation is then obliged, by artificial Means, to patch up some military Power, which is held in Suspense between Jealousy and Contempt, and which, at every Interval of Peace, is dwindling into Weakness and Insignificance. We may cast our Eye upon a Nation, where Men of high Rank, in the Order of civil Policy, are above military Service: a Place in the Army, or the meanest Office in the Revenue, are made alike the Reward of a favourite Servant; the Love of Pay therefore, or Compulsion, are the only Powers, which can fill up the Ranks of such an Army. We may observe another Nation, where the highest Dignities of the State derive a new Lustre from mi-

ilitary Service, where even such Dignities are obscured without it. The People therefore in every Station will crowd into this Quarter, and their Inducement is of such a Nature, as to captivate the most worthy. At *Rome* the several Branches of the Civil Magistracy, the Senate and the Forum, opened the Way to Distinction and Honour; but when a Person laid his highest Claim to Consideration and Applause, he reckoned the Years of his military Service, he shewed the Wounds he had received in the Defence of his Country, or left the Chair of Dignity and State, which he filled in the City, to struggle with Dangers and Fatigue. Thus *Rome* was not only invincible, she became dangerous to the World. The former is all our Aim: we may, therefore, in military Honours, stop many Degrees short of the *Romans*.

The People are now in expectation, that a Law may soon pass, to establish a Militia in this Country, and that every Individual will be obliged, in his Turn, to that Degree of Confinement and Attendance, which his

Time

Time of Service will require. If Men perform this Part with Chearfulness, and from a Public Spirit, they deserve such Marks of Honour and new Privilege, as the Policy and Manners of our Country will admit of; and if they appear with any Marks of Respect and Distinction, more than half the Purpose of a compulsatory Law is provided for, with so much the greater Advantage, that the Inducement, which leads them to the Field, will continue to guide them in the Performane of their Duty.

When so much is said, I shall be called upon, to specify the Marks of Respect I have been pointing at. It would be ridiculous to propose any which might prove an Alteration in our Constitution, or be attended with Difficulty in the Practice. We are very happy in the Degrees of Subordination already establisched in *Britain*, and when we talk of investing the Military with new Dignity, it is only propos'd to join that Character with what is already the most respectable and dignified in the State. The Character, therefore, must not only be separated from every Degree of Meanness,

Meanness, but connected with such Advantages as will draw the Attention of those we mean to captivate. It may be hoped, that the liberal and ingenuous Spirit of our People, will easily connect Honour with the Service of their Country; and that some slender Distinctions may be sufficient to settle their Minds in this Habit of thinking. Men of more fertile Invention, and more minute Acquaintance with the Train of our Policy, might be able to prompt or correct me in this Article. I will presume to mention, only, a few Particulars in Illustration of what has been already proposed.

That every Gentleman, who has served in the rank of Colonel, shall rise in his turn to the several Degrees of superior Rank. That he shall, however, continue to serve as a Colonel in his turn, and have no Command in the Capacity of a General Officer, in the County, until the King, upon the Formation of an Army, shall make choice of him for that Purpose.

That Rank in the Militia shall be equal, in all respects, to that which is acquired in the

the Standing Army. With such an Acceſſion, his Maſteſty will be leſſ confined, in the Choicē of an Officer, where his Ser-vice requires a ſuperior Capacity. Thus in ſome Countries the Prince finds, in the Person of every Nobleman about his Court, the Rank of an Officer, and is free to em-ploy him, in the Conduſt of an Enterprize, if his Capacity and military Endowments otherwife juſtify the Choicē. And I am inclined to believe, that with little Drudg-ery on the Parade, or loitering in Country Quarters, a Person may have Greatneſs of Mind equal to the Conduſt of Armies, and be furnished with that kind of Knowledge and Reſlection, which will qualify him for it.

To this I will add, that military Rank ſhould give Precedence equal with Titles of Nobility. They no doubt will naturally accompany one another; and where any of our Nobility decline this Service, they will bear with the Advancement of ſuch as become the Safeguards of their Country. The Honours of our Nobility are derived from ſuch Merit, and there can be no Im-propriety,

propriety in classing the Merit of our own times in that Rank, which derives its hereditary Lustre from a similar Title. In pursuit of this Idea, a Field Marshal, tho' only an Earl, or of an inferior Class of Nobility, would be held equal with a Duke. Such a Gradation pursued downwards, as far as it may with Propriety, should be observed in the Ceremonial of the Court, in the Lists of Parliament, and in the Order of State Processions. The same Honours should be communicated, by Courtesy, to the Wives and Children of such Officers.

The Train of our Policy will likewise furnish an Opportunity of distinguishing those of an inferior Class. Let such as actually serve in the Militia stand foremost in the List of every Grand or Petty Jury to which they are called: and let such alone be qualified to be chosen Foreman of a Jury.

Let them be married upon being only twice called in the Church.

Let them be the first in every County List,

List, and have the Place of Honour in voting at all Elections.

From such a Distribution of Honours it may be expected, that the military Character will rise in the Esteem of the Public, and the Arms of the Nation settle in the Hands of those, who deserve its Confidence, on account of their personal Spirit, their Property, and Interest in its Preservation. We cannot apprehend that in such Hands they will be useless to the Public : Minds once possessed with the Love of Honour, are prepared for any Danger or Fatigue in Pursuit of it. We excite this Principle by pointing out a Path wherein it may exert itself; we hinder the Office of a Soldier from devolving, by Substitution, on the meanest of our People, and we give our Manners an Edge, which will render the Nation formidable to our Enemies.

This I apprehend to be the Class, wherein military Men should stand, attended with the Respect and Consideration they deserve ; and from such Reflections we may return, with Advantage, to consider the proper Sanctions of a military Law, which

is to affect and govern a free People. When we have invested Men with a new Privilege and Dignity, we have given them a Sensibility to a new kind of Punishment. It were happy for us, if the Sentiments of Honour alone, and the Fear of what we might suffer on this delicate Point, were sufficient to occupy and govern the Minds of our People ; we bear Signs of a lamentable Defect, where other Motives are necessary. This Principle connects the Dignity of Virtue with the Lustre of a Station. It leads to commendable Actions, on the foot of Propriety and Decorum ; it flies from what is vile with an Apprehension of Meanness and Degradation : joined with *British* Integrity and Patriotism, it would form the greatest of Characters, would be a sure Foundation to the Virtues of Public Life, and furnish the best handle to military Punishments and Rewards. If Honour be the most natural Principle of military Virtue, every Sanction we devise, for the Government of a Militia, should tend to maintain it in the Minds of our People. Every Instance of Shame or Degradation

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seen in the View of a Punishment, awakens the Care of our own Honour and Reputation. Instances of Imprisonment, corporal Punishment, or pecuniary Fines, tend to excite our Fears, and beget an Attention to sordid Considerations. We would render Men brave from a Principle of Fear, or magnanimous from a mercenary Motive. If the Cry of Shame from a dishonoured Nation cannot break the Heart of an Offender ; nor the Applause which attends an honourable Action fire and stimulate the Mind, we have Reason to be sollicitous for the Fate of our Country. Every criminal Prosecution for military Miscarriage, is a Confession of our Weakness. It is a Proof, that the Public Service hath devolved upon Persons, who seek for a Livelihood or a Fortune at our Expence. It is a Proof that some Regulation is yet wanting, which might bring, into public View, that Store of Capacity, Spirit, and Probity, which lies concealed in the mass of our People.

From such Reflections am inclined to wish, that the military Law calculated for our Militia, should build its Authority on

the Foundation of Honour and Disgrace alone. The Liberties of a *British* Subject, and the Honour of a *British* Soldierr as it has been pointed at, lay open many Parts, wherein we may wound an Offender, without aiming at his Life or his Person. The Public will become the Judge of Reputation : the same Evasions will not save from Disgrace, which may prevent a formal Sentence. When we act from an Apprehenfion of the latter, it is sufficient, that we can save and palliate. If we fear the former, every Part of our Conduct must be clear of Suspicion, as well as real Blemishes. It will be proper, that we come toParticulars, in order to consider this Scheme with a nearer View to its execution. The Law has already provided against Crimes and civil Offences : I shall, therefore, consider Mutiny in time of War, and deserting a Post in the Face of an Enemy, as the highest Offence a Soldier can be guilty of. The following Censure, or a like Degradation and Diminution of Privilege might be inflicted in such a Case. That every such Offender be dismissed the

Militia

Militia for ever : that his Name and his Marks be published : that it shall be lawful to strike him : that he shall have no Action of Damages for an Assault, nor return a Blow, without being liable to such an Action : but that to maim his Body, or occasion his Death, shall be equally criminal as in the Case of any other his Majesty's Subjects. Humanity forbids the Cruelties he might meet with ; it is only intended that his Example should give an Opinion of Shame and Degradation in Cowardice.

From this Height, we may descend by, a proper Gradation of Penalties, to the smaller Offences. That, for Instance, Mutiny, or Disobedience of such Orders as relate to the Muster or Exercise of the Regiment in Time of Peace, shall forfeit all or any Branch of the Militia Privileges, as a Court Martial shall see fit to determine. That for Negligence, or small Offences on the Parade, it shall be in the Power of the Colonel, or Commanding Officer of the Regiment, Company or Division, without Trial, to disgrace the Offender, by ordering him out of the Rank in

in which he stands, to one less honourable, or to stand in the Front without his Arms, till the Exercise of the Day is over.

A System of Penalties, upon such Principles, may at first sight appear, too refined and fanciful. It may be thought, that they will give little Authority to our Law, not being of a Nature, that will influence the Multitude. We may observe however, that Laws often form and assimilate the Minds of Men to their own Tendency; and it might be expected, that the Signals of Honour and Disgrace thus held up to the Public, would meet with a new Degree of Attention. It may be affirmed, that great Numbers would receive the Impression, and be governed by the View of such Forfeitures as we have proposed: nor can we doubt, that inferior Numbers governed by such a Principle, would form a greater Strength and Security to this Nation, than any promiscuous Multitude trained to other Views. If the Law therefore shall direct us to exclude and disqualify for the Service, such as prove insensible to these Motives, the Militia will be only cleared of

of an Incumbrance, and our Force collect-  
ed into a select Band which may be em-  
ployed with Confidence.

Gentlemen will be pleased to consider,  
what other manner of Correction they  
would apply in this Case. Pecuniary Fines  
must be limited, and to very inconsider-  
able Sums. It will bring no Disgrace to  
be fined of a few Shillings or Pence. The  
Rich will boast of such a Censure, and be  
fond of shewing, that they can bear it with  
Ease. It may indeed distress the Poor, and  
lessen the Quantity of his own and his  
Children's Bread, but will not furnish him  
with a Motive to become a better Soldier.  
Imprisonment and corporal Punishment  
are on the Way to Despotism ; and if they  
linger short of that Termination, will prove  
ineffectual. If one Degree of Severity does  
not avail, we must proceed to a higher.  
The Ax must come in Aid of the Rod,  
and the Wheel and the Torture terminate  
the View of an obstinate Offender. Even  
if we should mix any Tincture of such  
Severity with our Punishments, they  
should still owe their chief Influence to  
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the Shame and Disgrace which they bring. And when this Point is stretched to a certain Degree, an Offender should be disqualified to carry Arms ; because if, with such Marks upon him, he continues in the Rank and Class of our Militia, he will depress better Spirits, and bring the Character of a Soldier to his own Level.

When the Subject is brought so far, the Reader may expect to find some Plan for the Formation and Discipline of a Regiment. It was none of my Intention to offer any thing on that Head : nor does it appear a Matter of great Difficulty. I thought we were in danger of hurrying on to this Part of the Institution, without attending to Considerations, which were previously necessary. I have endeavoured to explain myself on these Points, and think that Regiments in whom their Country may confide, should be the Flower of a People familiar with Arms, and that they should find Esteem and Consideration connected with their Appearance in that Station. I have likewise hinted at the Scheme of a Discipline agreeable to this Idea of a Militia.

Militia. The Paper, however, may appear to end abruptly without the Consideration of some other Particulars. It may be asked, by what Rule we are to proceed in the first levying and Formation of our Regiments? Are we to make a compulsatory Law, or trust to the voluntary Appearance of our People? I answer, that an Act may pass in the Form of a compulsatory Law, which yet will find a cheerful and ready Compliance, and few Instances where its coercive Power will be felt. If his Majesty's Order is sent, into the Country, to enrol, without Choice or Distinction, every Person able to carry Arms, there will appear, perhaps, a general Inclination to decline the Burden. If, on the contrary, Persons of a certain Estimation alone are pointed at, such an Order will be understood as a Call unto a Station of Repute and Credit, and Men will be glad to find their Names stand in the List. I will explain myself in a few Particulars; and the Reader will please to remember, that the Limits of Rank and Qualification here mentioned, are rather

given, in Illustration of the general Idea, than as Particulars fully digested and corrected.

Let the proper Officers in every County, City, and Borough, be directed to make out compleat Lists in the following Terms.

Of the Noblemen and Gentlemen possess'd of a certain Valuation, qualified for the Rank of Colonels.

Of all possess'd of a lower Valuation, qualified for Field Officers.

Of another Valuation, qualified for Captains. And let all Freeholders, having the Valuation of one hundred a Year, be understood to be qualified for inferior Officers, and not obliged to serve as Soldiers.

Let the remaining List consist of such as possess a certain Extent of Ground, and under one hundred a Year. Let a similar Method be followed in all Cities and Boroughs, that the lower Class, here likewise, may consist of such as are respectable among the Inhabitants.

This lower List, to avoid Repetition, I shall call, that of Freemen. It excludes all

all Cottagers, Day-Labourers and Servants. It must likewise exclude every Person at present, or for the future, who has, or shall be convicted of any criminal or infamous Charge before the Civil Magistrate.

When his Majesty is pleased to appoint his Officers, let them draw by Lot from the List of Freemen, the Names of such Persons as are to take the first Turn of military Duty ; and when their Time is expired, a new Appointment of Officers may proceed in the same Manner, until the whole have taken their Turn.

Let it be lawful for a Freeman to substitute another Freeman in his Place : but the Substitute alone, in this Case, shall enjoy the Honours and Privileges of the Militia. Let it be lawful for a Freeman to substitute his Son, who, tho' not in the List of Freemen, whilst he lives in his Father's Family, shall, in this Case, enjoy the Honours of the Militia, and communicate the same to his Father likewise. Let the Names of such as refuse to present themselves, or substitute another in the above Terms, be struck off the List

of Freemen, and excluded for Life : let this, if thought necessary, affect their Children.

If it is apprehended, that the List qualified for the Rank of inferior Officers, may exceed, in Proportion, the other Classes, let the Number of such Officers, appointed to a Regiment, be increased accordingly. And when, in the Field, the several Posts in a Battalion are disposed of, according to Rank and Seniority, the Supernumeraries may take Post by the Colours, which they are supposed to carry and defend. To this Particular, which seems to relate immediately to the Form of a Regiment, I will add another ; That in every Company, once in three Months, a Prize shall be contended for, by shooting at a Mark. That all who have ever won such a Prize, in different Companies, shall, when the Regiment is assembled, form a Division apart, and take Post in the Flank, or advanced in the Front, commanded by four Officers from the Colours.

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Such broken Hints may illustrate the Meaning of this Essay. A Person, tho' ill qualified to adjust every Particular, may yet strike out general Views, not unworthy of the public Attention. I will conclude this tedious Performance with observing, that if we rest our Militia upon its proper Basis, a general Use of Arms, and the Love of Honour, we shall find Men hardy enough to serve their Country; that Duty will employ the most deserving of our People, whose Sword, without alarming the public Liberty, will be a sure Defence against a foreign Enemy. If, on the contrary, these Points are neglected, the Form and pretended Discipline of a Militia will be vain, and our Arms must come by Substitution into the Hands of the least reputable Class of the People, who cannot be reduced into the Order of an Army, and who are Strangers to the Sentiments and the Attention to personal Character, which such a Duty would require.



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